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REVIEW ARTICLE

J. P. B. DE JOSSELIN DE JONG'S WETAN FIELDNOTES: AN EXTENDED APPRECIATION

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J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong. 1987. *Wetan Fieldnotes: Some Eastern Indonesian Texts with Linguistic Notes and a Vocabulary*. Dordrecht and Providence: Foris Publications. xi + 335 pp. Map, linguistic notes, vocabulary, index to the vocabulary. Paperback.

INTRODUCTION

It is unsettling, sometimes, to ponder the worth of our scholarship to future generations of scholars. Will our work be of any value to them? For field- and data-oriented linguists, the question is more fundamental—do even data endure? After many frustrating hours wasted with reference grammars written in frameworks that make them all but unusable to askers of other kinds of questions, it is reassuring and even inspiring to come upon J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong's *Wetan Fieldnotes*. Written over half a century ago, the linguistic analyses still speak to today's issues, and the texts contain data that truly have endured.

It is hard, when faced with a source of information as rich as *Wetan Fieldnotes*, to restrict oneself to a simple review of the book. There are data there, data that are fascinating, stimulating and tantalizing, about a little-known member of the Austronesian family. For that reason, this piece, which began as a book review, has developed into a case study of how the

Fieldnotes can be used, and how valuable a resource they are, as well as a preliminary exploration into one aspect of Wetan syntax, namely the formation of relative clauses.

Wetan is one of reportedly five distinct languages spoken on the island of Wetan, in the Babar Archipelago of Eastern Indonesia (Collins 1983). Referred to as Wetanese by de Josselin de Jong himself, but as Wetan by Blust in his introduction, it is almost certainly a dialect of Wetang, reported by Collins as spoken in eight villages on islands near Wetan. *Wetan Fieldnotes* is the only source of published information on this language and one of the most extensive sources of data on any Southeastern Maluku language. As such, it will be useful for pursuing genetic, areal, and typological issues. Possibly related to the languages of Kisar, Roma, Leti-Moa, and Luang-Sermata (pp. vii-ix), a subgrouping of the Maluku branch of Austronesian languages, Wetan represents a little-studied branch of the Austronesian language family. Wetan is also located in the puzzling "hot spot" of remarkable linguistic diversity which encompasses the Papua New Guinea-Eastern Indonesia region. For instance, five distinct languages are reported spoken on Wetan, an island of approximately 8 by 25 kilometers—perhaps one-twentieth the size of Bali. The book will be of use to anthropologists as well as linguists, both as a pedagogical tool for learning Wetan or related languages, and for the ethnographic information contained implicitly in the texts and vocabulary.

FORMAT

The book begins with a useful annotated introduction by Robert A. Blust. Sixty-eight authentic texts in Wetan follow, each with a sentence-by-sentence English translation on the facing page. These are followed by 10 pages of footnotes, 53 pages of linguistic notes, a 72-page Wetan-English vocabulary, and a 61-page index to the vocabulary, which is effectively an English-Wetan vocabulary.

The Introduction provides background information about the works of de Josselin de Jong, and about the geographic and linguistic area around Wetan. Blust proposes a plausible affiliation for Wetan with Roma, Kisar, Leti-Moa, and Luang-Sermata, as a subgrouping of Eastern Maluku. The introduction also contains a useful bibliography of pertinent works.

The Texts, for the most part folktales, are fascinating and entertaining reading, and provide a wealth of implicit ethnographic, linguistic and historical information. Themes include the origins of rituals, place names and clan relations, as well as descriptions of agriculture, healing, fishing, and other aspects of daily life. Because the English translation has been done

sentence-by-sentence, the lack of interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses is not insurmountable, and it is relatively easy to keep close to the translation. The texts were apparently transcribed as the storyteller spoke, so sandhi and other phonological consequences of the spoken context are contained. Thus, information regarding both rapid speech phenomena and citation forms is available.

De Josselin de Jong's English translations are extremely helpful, although sometimes inconsistencies can be found. For example, in the first text, *perkajaini paretenide* is glossed throughout as 'misfortune' although that is not one of the definitions that appear in the Vocabulary. Furthermore, some apparently unmotivated changes were made in order to make the texts read better as English stories. For instance, in the following passage from Text 1, identical phrases in succeeding Wetan sentences have been rendered into English with different wordings, while different phrases in Wetan have ended up in English with identical wording. (Pertinent phrases are bracketed):

Walpi enrana taldiene pe nmai Worilmi Rilma Wonera [lettiarni pede witieme nanni] Jere.
'Next he took that rope to the region between Woserili and Rumalewang Besar [and the boundary-line was named] Jere.'

Walpi nranoknana taldiene pe nmantuerle Rilma Wonera ma Nojata [pe rletni pede witiemni nanni] Watwerkoote.
'Next he took the rope and laid it down between Rumalewang Besar and Nusiata [and the name of their boundary was] Watwerkoote.'

Walpi nrana taldiene pe nketri oka le Likupenma Nojata [rletni pede ira witiemni nanni] Ajari.
'Next he took the rope and again stretched it between Liketupun and Nusiata [and their boundary was named] Ajari.'

Walpi ranoknana taldiene pe nanketertarie le Likupenma Ereleini [pe rletni pede witiemni nanni] Ritnie.
'Next he took the rope and stretched it between Liketupun and Herle [whose boundary was called] Ritnie.'

Walpi nanketri oka le Ereleini ma Okpe [rletni pede ira witiemni nanni] Jekri.
'Next he laid the rope between Herle and Oka [and the name of their boundary was] Jekri.'

Walpi ranoka taldiene pe nketr oka le Okma Tniawotpe [rletni pede ira witiemni nanni]
Liwanuli.

'Next the rope was taken and stretched between Oka and Niawota [and their boundary
was called] Liwanuli.'

Walpi ranoka taldiene pe ntuiokerle Tniawotma Potlawenpe [rletni pede witiemni nanni]
Tuttionni.

'Again the rope was taken and laid down between Niawota and Pota Besar [and the name
of their boundary was] Tuttionni.'

Although there may be good rhetorical reasons for varying the wording in English, it can make linguistic analysis extremely difficult.

The Footnotes to the texts focus on the most extreme morphophonemic alternations and rapid speech phenomena as well as explanations of some apparently idiomatic uses and possible errors, which are included verbatim in the texts. They also contain some useful breakdowns by morpheme, and speculations about unclear forms. These are reassuring, since the reliability of some of the data, particularly the rapid speech phenomena, might be questionable, given that, although we know little of de Josselin de Jong's methods, he certainly did not use a tape recorder. However, he is honest enough to admit the limitations of his own ear, for example stating (p. 149) that /o/ "vacillates" between the vowel of English *not* and French *pot*. He also alludes to the difficulty of distinguishing, for instance, Wetan /u/ from /o/ or /i/ from /e/.

The Linguistic Notes form a short reference grammar, containing both descriptions and analyses, as well as observations concerning alternations de Josselin de Jong was not able to fully explain. Reflecting the times in which it was written, Fieldnotes concentrates heavily on phonology and morphology. The section begins with a treatment of the phonemic and phonetic inventory, and phonotactics and phonological alternations. Word classes are then listed, along with general morphological processes, including compounding, prefixation and suffixation, and reduplication. The section has a listing of loanwords.

The limitations of the structuralist biases of the times in which this book was written are more apparent in the organization of the book than in the content itself. There is some, although not enough, referencing of morphemes by both form and function, so that, for example, plurality and comparison are mentioned both in "flexion of nouns" which is organized according to functions, and in "prefixes" which simply discusses forms. This of course makes finding a given morpheme much easier, and compensates for the inevitable noncongruence of English and Wetan categories. The presence of function-based sections, such as plurality, comparison, and

subordination also makes information about periphrastic and lexical syntactic devices more accessible. More of this would have been desirable. Instead, the emphasis is on forms, so there are no sections, for instance, on tense, aspect, or modality, and the reader must pore through prefixes, suffixes, particles, and auxiliaries to find the relevant information. An advantage, though, of the form-based organizational structure is that it facilitates studies of grammaticalization, since all uses of a particular morpheme are together in one place.

Terminology necessarily reflects the times in which the notes were collected, although this is not a grave problem because de Josselin de Jong manages generally to avoid jargon. There are no discussions of the "genius" of the language, for example, so common in 19th century grammars and so mystifying to graduate students today. Although more modern terms, such as "serial verbs," are lacking (instead they are called "auxiliaries"), in general one needs only a familiarity with grammar-school grammar terms to be able to use the book. However, the avoidance of jargon does mean that some groupings are overly large to be very useful. One such not very useful category is "particles," which in some uses seems to include everything that is not a noun or a verb. However, functions and meanings are discussed in detail for many particles, and in general it is irrelevant what de Josselin de Jong chooses to call them, since he provides sufficient information and examples that they can be adapted to any framework or goal.

The gravest problem with the Linguistic Notes is that one entire section referred to in at least two vocabulary entries is missing. The entry for *pede* (p. 246) and for *toneka* both say "See L. N. Morph. 20." However, the Linguistic Notes end with Section 19.4. If this is not an editing mistake, the editors should have made some mention of the missing sections, so that readers will not search in vain. There are some other gaps which are probably unavoidable, due to the inherent limitations of posthumous publication, and the work must be accepted as unfinished. For example, the section on word classes contains no mention of some major word classes one would expect, such as adjectives or adverbs. However, later (p. 175) a class of adjective stems is implicitly assumed. Nowhere is there a discussion of their characteristics or behavior.

A great strength of de Josselin de Jong's approach is that every point is illustrated with copious examples. For instance, the section headed *-neka* begins with 20 lines of examples, some brief explanation, then a further 16 lines of examples. Only then does de Josselin de Jong summarize, after letting the data speak for themselves. It is inconvenient that the examples are not numbered according to which text they came from. With some

searching, however, they can be located in the texts for contextual information.

As a piece of intellectual history, *Wetan Fieldnotes* is interesting both as an example of the structuralist assumptions in vogue at the time, as well as an example of how truly insightful scholars were never really slaves to them. In the Linguistic Notes, for instance, de Josselin de Jong overrides the structuralist tendency to make a clear separation of diachronically related morphemes and makes some interesting speculation on possible diachronic derivations. Reflecting also the spirit of the times, no explicit attention is paid to pragmatic or discourse-level phenomena. Even word order and anaphora are not discussed.

The Vocabulary contains some 2000 entries, arranged alphabetically by stem. In addition to an English equivalent, entries also contain derived forms and compounds, as well as usage notes, cognates in related or contact languages, pronunciation variants, and idiomatic uses. Almost all are abundantly illustrated with glossed examples of usage. The vocabulary also contains useful ethnographic information, for instance *neni* 'a kind of tree ... used as a remedy against swollen tonsils', as well as many plant and animal names. While prolific, de Josselin de Jong was apparently also meticulous, and seems not to overstep the line from documentation into speculation without giving notice to the reader. For example, *makmeka* only "*seems* to be a reduplicated form of *maka*-" (p. 232) and the definition for *niatniwenni* reads "noon; probably the right word is *niaatniwenni*" (p. 238). Sometimes his caution seems excessive. For instance, the definition of the morpheme *-t-* is simply "affix of uncertain meaning" (p. 258). The vocabulary would be more useful to a wider range of scholars if the abbreviations used, for example, Lct., Mal., and Kis., had been explicitly defined. Furthermore, some of the glosses of grammatical function words leave something to be desired, for example, *pe* "a very common particle of multifarious uses" (p. 245). It would also have been extremely helpful if the usage examples had been marked with the number of the text from which they were drawn, so that contextual information could be easily accessed.

The Index to the Vocabulary is a list of the English words that are used to define Wetan words in the vocabulary, together with the appropriate vocabulary item to refer to. It is especially useful because of the large number of morphophonemic alternations which make looking up Wetan words extremely difficult. Some words in the texts remain inaccessible however, and whether this is due to omissions by de Josselin de Jong or to deletions by the editors is hard to determine.

Overall, a respect for the data is the common theme that unifies the various sections of the book, and somewhat compensates for the inevitable

gaps that arise with posthumous publication of an unfinished work. The prose is everywhere marked with clarity and insight, little jargon, and an admirable ability to face the facts, disconcerting though they may be. For example, "The most peculiar feature of Wetanese sentence rhythm is the arbitrary combining of words into stress units by treating independent morphemes phonetically as enclitics regardless of syntactic structure. Thus, the independent particles ... are often attached enclitically to the preceding word although, syntactically, they introduce a new clause." (p. 162) The well-documented tendency for constituent structure to affect listeners' perceptions of morpheme placement (Clark and Clark 1977), combined with the prevailing theories of the times, probably made the temptation to "hear" prosodic rhythms as correlates of syntactic structure very strong. Many structuralist grammars of the same era are full of prosodic rules that later tape recordings have shown to be largely the result of wishful thinking, and it is impressive that de Josselin de Jong had the insight and integrity to note the phenomena that were counter to his expectations.

The very personal, almost chatty style of the book, while not compatible with current notions of professional writing, serves to make it eminently readable. This in some ways compensates for problems with the organizational style, lack of indexing, and differences in terminology, since often the only way to find something is to read through the whole book. Furthermore, the reader is left with a vivid impression of the man behind the work.

Editing of the manuscript for publication was kept to a minimum, limited to only those revisions that de Josselin de Jong himself had indicated his intention to carry out before his death, or obvious "errors," primarily in revisions of the Index to the Vocabulary. Inevitably but unfortunately, this has led to some problems with the published version of the *Fieldnotes*. Some of these shortcomings are discussed in the editors' introduction, which refers, for example, to "misreadings of the author's handwriting in places," most specifically the difficulty in determining the placement of word boundaries in the handwritten manuscript. However, de Josselin de Jong himself refers to extensive sandhi phenomena across word boundaries, relative weakness of word-level stress compared to sentence-level intonation, and even the tendency to cliticize across major constituent boundaries, so this problem is not serious since it probably reflects real production characteristics.

The truly unfortunate consequence of the editing is that Wetan forms in the Index to the Vocabulary which did not appear anywhere in the Vocabulary itself were deleted, apparently without first checking for them in the texts. Unfortunately, there seem to be words in the Texts that do not

appear in the Vocabulary, and it is possible that clues to their meanings were in the items deleted from the Index to the Vocabulary.

The *Fieldnotes* contain no information on informants or data collection techniques, so there is some doubt as to the generalizability of linguistic analyses based on the texts. It is not clear if variation is due to use of different informants or interpreters, or if it is for other reasons. There is no indication of which language the elicitation was done in, or whether the interpreters worked through Malay, Dutch, or something else. This would, however, certainly have consequences for the translations and vocabulary glosses. There is also no discussion of how the genre of folktales may differ from language used in other contexts. Conclusions based on the *Fieldnotes* must therefore be considered limited until they can be confirmed by more extensive fieldwork.

RELATIVE CLAUSES

It is hard to limit oneself to a conventional book review of *Wetan Fieldnotes*, because its many strengths make its content so irresistibly distracting. De Josselin de Jong provides just enough information to tempt the reader to look further. The Linguistic Notes point the way to the interesting phenomena, while the texts provide the data to pursue them in depth. The morphology section, for example, contains the statement: "Grammatical subordination may be realized directly by means of reduplication and indirectly by means of particles functioning as links between a preceding subordinate clause and the principal clause which follows" (p. 201). This brief allusion to a rather unusual use of reduplication led me to weeks of checking and cross-checking through the texts, leading finally into a full-fledged investigation into subordination and relativization in *Wetan*.

What follows, then, is the "applied" part of this review, a case study of the kind of research that can be done using *Wetan Fieldnotes*. It is intended as an illustration of a possible strategy for using the *Fieldnotes*, as well as the strengths and weaknesses of the *Fieldnotes*.

This discussion centers on the *Wetan* equivalents of the English category "relative clauses." There is, of course, no reason to expect that either the form or function of this category maps in any close way onto a single *Wetan* category, and of course it does not. But the English category, implicitly assumed in the translations, marks the starting point for a fruitful way to use the *Fieldnotes*. By using the English translations as a starting point, de Josselin de Jong's own intuitions provide the basis of a first rough cut, limiting and directing the line of inquiry. It will be seen that the translations

are problematic and even misleading, but that they still provide an excellent point of entry into a linguistic analysis.

The set of formal devices that together account for the sentences that approximately correspond to relative clauses in English perform other functions that in English are not related to relative clauses. Thus, although for convenience "relative clauses" is taken as the topic, in fact this section is about a loose cluster of constructions and functions that cannot appropriately be subsumed under a single title. Thus, the reader should be aware that the domain of inquiry is what de Josselin de Jong translated as relative clauses, which may not correspond to any real linguistic category, either formal or functional.

Three distinct constructions were translated by de Josselin de Jong into English as relative clauses. (In these and all subsequent examples, entire relative clauses, including head nouns, are set off in brackets. Examples are identified by Text and line number.) They are reduplication:

- (1) Noremde r-kaa [ora r-li-lir-nan-dene] pe
after that 3pl-take [bamboo 3pl-DUP-split-EMPH-DEM] PRT

r-la-r-tuje le liene ida ma tolle-re-nemde patrene no-dier-pe
3pl-go-3pl-put PREP cave one CONJ leafrib-PL-present woman-DEM as-DEM-PRT

n-la-n-tuj-er-le luwai-ni keper-ni
3sg-go-3sg-put-PL-PREP chest-POSS bottom-POSS

'After that they took [the bamboo that had been cleft] and put it in a cave and the woman took the leafribs along and put them on the bottom of her clothes-chest.' (12-17)

prefixation with *mak-*:

- (2) Mak-oiktani patrier-dinede Ante ma Pareti
MAK-worship old woman-DEM Ante CONJ Pareti

'[The people] who worshipped this old woman] were Ante and Pareti.' (3-5)

whole-word lexical devices such as particles and conjunctions:

- (3) Taamma r-ma-ra-pollie [Erelei-ni pidpi r-laa-pe
then 3pl-AUX-3pl-invite [Herle-POSS then 3pl-go-PRT

r-la-ra-diaka]
3pl-go-3pl-take care of]

'Then they invited [the people of Herle, who came to take care of her].' (18-8)

However, other than the fact that they were translated as relative clauses, there is no reason to view them as a unified category. While the English translations contain no clue as to the differences in their functions, the texts can be used to ascertain that their usage in Wetan is determined by clearly distinct functions. Reduplication and *mak*- prefixation together cover the category "restrictive relative clauses." However, neither of them has anything to do with the function "nonrestrictive relative clauses." Rather than nonrestrictive relative clauses, Wetan reduplication and *mak*- prefixation extend to functional categories that are not related in English. Simply because the various Wetan forms are all translated into English as relative clauses, there is of course no reason to expect that the three forms may be interchanged arbitrarily. It would be indeed surprising if Wetan were to make the same functional and semantic distinctions in relative clauses that English does, and of course it does not. The inescapable conclusion is that in Wetan the notion "relative clause" means little, as will be seen in greater detail below.

Reduplication

Verbs in restrictive relative clauses are often partially, and occasionally completely, reduplicated, as in the following examples, using the verbs *dena* 'to stay' and *ninna* 'to sleep'

- (4) Taama na-k-war-nana pidpi n-mai [am-ni
then 3sg-CAUS-carry-EMPH then 3sg-come [father-POSS
n-de-dena-loa dene] pidpi an-ni n-iwre
3sg-DUP-stay-there DEM] then father-POSS 3sg-say
m-kja-nina le [mo-ni-ninna-n-loe dene]
2sg-take-sleep PREP [2sg-DUP-sleep-there DEM]

'So he carried him to [the place where his father was] and his father said: "Put him to sleep in [the place where you have slept]"' (14-44)

The amount of material that is reduplicated depends on the initial sound of the verb. The reduplicated elements usually include the person prefix if the verb begins with a vowel, such as the verb *odi* 'to carry or bring':

- (5) Iwi mak-dena jöre rene woite-r-emde radiena jennira ma
chicken MAK-stay pole DEM 7-3pl-be present DEM place-PL CONJ
[ra-r-akar-nan-le ot-ni-mat-ni-ren-emde]
[DUP-3pl-distribute-EMPH-PREP head-POSS-eye-POSS-DEM-be present]

mak-opaklake rene ra-wokar-pe r-alle r-temen-la
MAK-perform rites DEM 3pl-collect-PRT 3pl-from 3pl-put away-PREP

[jaanajemni ro-r-odi rene]
[provisions DUP-3pl-bring DEM]

'(The body-parts of) the hen which were on the seven pointed sticks were left there and [those which had been distributed among the chiefs] were collected by those acting as priests and put with [the provisions that had been brought].' (15-24)

If the verb begins with a consonant the prefix is not reduplicated. For example, only the first syllable of the verb *keera* 'to arrange' is reduplicated, not the person prefix or the rest of the verb.

- (6) Ma r-ka-wali po ma mkaini ma jaana-wali
CONJ 3pl-take-also pinang CONJ sirih CONJ rice-also
pode r-tuje le aitiawi r-ke-ker-tari rene
so that 3pl-put PREP [leaf 3pl-DUP-arrange-PERF DEM]

'And they also took pinang and sirih and rice and put that on [the leaves that had been arranged there].' (29-14)

An exception is *ana* 'to eat' which is usually reduplicated in its entirety, without the person prefix:

- (7) [N-ana-ana ne-n-emni-de] ipmir-mera
[3sg-DUP-eat DUP-3sg-drink-PRT] fowl-red

'[What he ate, what he drank] consisted in a red cock' (1-11)

The demonstrative is not present with all subordinated relativizations, and its presence is related to definiteness and previous mention of the head noun in discourse, rather than to presence of a relative clause per se. Note that the reduplicated verbs retain many of their verbal characteristics, lending further support to the claim that they are subordinate verbs rather than nominalized verbs functioning as simple attributives.

- (8) [Ai-die-dena loa-denede] mor-mjori law-lawne pese
[1sg-DUP-stay place-DEM] DUP-live DUP-big good

'[In the place where I was staying] livelihood was plentiful.' (20-69)

Sentence (8) shows how verbs that are reduplicated to express subordination still have verbal morphology, in this case the first person singular prefix, while the simple reduplicated nominalization, 'livelihood'

formed by reduplicating the verb 'to live', has no person marking. In addition to keeping their person prefixes, verbs that are reduplicated to express subordination are not affixed with nominal morphology such as possessives or plural markers, and they can be modified by adverbs.

The word order of elements within the relative clause and presence or absence of elements other than the verb are variable. In Wetan, as in English, relative clauses can be found without a head noun. (See also example 7.)

- (9) Pe nimde Romaljewan ma Kolelupni ria lira-jati pele
PRT when Romaljewan CONJ Kolelupni person feast PRT
ra-poli Iltjuwni-Worawera pode r-al' wali [tjeteti-liai
3pl-call Iltjuwni-Worawera so that 3pl-give again [share
r-ana-ana-n' le uli-uli] [Iltjuwni-Worawera ra-r-ala-nana-le-ira]
3pl-DUP-eat-? PREP formerly] [Iltjuwni-Worawera DUP-3pl-give-EMPH-PREP-3pl]

'So when Rumahlewang and Kolelupun made a feast they would invite Jaltubun-Worawa and return [the share of food which they had eaten formerly] [(when it was) given to them by Jaltubun-Worawa.]' (56-28)

In locative relative clauses, if no specific head noun is present, it is necessary to use a bound locative particle *loa*, which follows the verb.

- (10) Na-kota-tari-le-ira noa-dena pidpi nora ankee-n-ir-pe r-mai
3sg-speak-PERF-PREP-3pl as-DEM then together child-POSS-PL-PRT 3pl-come
[aw-ni n-de-dena loa-dene]
[wife-POSS 3sg-DUP-stay there-DEM]

'After speaking thus to them he and his sons went to [the place where his wife was staying].' (14-49)

This is obligatory if the location is not present as a full head noun. The locative particle *loa* is not found if the head noun is present:

- (11) Omo-prir-pi mo-w-lar-pi m-lia m-tutlie tutti lilli
2sg-rise-PRT 2sg-PRT-go-PRT 2sg-go 2-reach cape end
ma ao-mtatna le [ajewta oma-ma-mati-nana-le dine] tutai
CONJ 1sg-sit PREP [driftwood 2sg-DUP-die-EMPH-PREP DEM] top-POSS

'You must rise and go to the end of the cape and I remain sitting on top of this [log of driftwood where you have died].' (14-34)

Although *loa* always follows the verb, full head nouns may precede or follow the verb. The word order depends on whether other participants, most importantly an actor, are present or absent. The head noun may follow or precede the verb if the actor is present. (For example, in locative clauses, the actor is the entity that was located there):

- (12) R-wenen-nana pipi rene pe normede r-kaa dudill-ir ma ra-ni
3pl-kill-EMPH goat DEM PRT after 3pl-take horn-PL CONJ chin-POSS
rur-ni pe r-la-r-tuie-le [Aikierna n-de-dena lien dene]
bone-POSS PRT 3pl-go-3pl-put-PREP [Aikierna 3sg-DUP-stay cave DEM]

'After killing those goats they took their horns and jawbones and laid them down in [the cave where Aikierna resided].'

- (13) R-la-tari annidene taamma r-la-r-tui-tjari Pailiri ma Maimjuti
3pl-go-PERF there then 3pl-go-3pl-put-put Pailiri CONJ Maimjuti
le [noa Pailiri n-de-dennan-dene]
PREP [island Pailiri 3sg-DUP-stay-DEM]

'When they had arrived there they took Pailiri and Maimjuti to [the island where Pailiri had been staying].' (54-50)

Although the majority of clauses with verb reduplications were translated by de Josselin de Jong as relative clauses, some were instead translated with temporal phrases, such as 'after', 'until' or 'while'. There is no formal difference between the reduplication in temporal clauses and that in relative clauses, as shown in the examples below:

- (14) [N-de-den-nana Lewnupe-nana] n-laa-wa Teimi
[3sg-DUP-stay-PRT Lewnupun-after] 3sg-go-PRT Teon

'[After staying at Lewnupun] he went to Teon.' (24-53)

- (15) Awatwat-rine de na-jori-na-ntar-lie nō-ni taamma
woman-DEM PRT 3sg-bear-3sg-bear-PREP island-POSS thereupon
ejan-dine-n-la-n-ka-nana pe n-mai pi n-olok-tarie le
witch-DEM-3sg-go-3sg-take-EMPH PRT 3sg-come PRT 3sg-lock up-put away PREP
annidene [ma awatwat-rine aw-ni ma ankee-nie pe
there [CONJ woman-DEM spouse-POSS CONJ child-POSS PRT

r-mera-ko-koe-ra] le lelerni malmelli le nō-ni
 3pl-ill-DUP-weep-3pl] PRT day night PRT island-POSS

'This woman had given birth on her island and this witch had taken her away and had shut her up in a cage there [while the woman's husband and child were lamenting and weeping] day and night on her island.' (47-77)

Such temporal phrases are less common than modifying relative clauses. Although de Josselin de Jong contrasts these two functions of reduplication, they can in fact be understood as temporal relative clauses, alternatively rendered into English as 'after [the time when he stayed at Lewnupun]' or 'at [the time when her husband and children were lamenting and weeping]'. Like other headless relative clauses in Wetan, temporal relative clauses do not require a demonstrative.

Reduplication is an important morphological process in Wetan, and in addition to subordination can be used to form nouns from verbs, as well as to express iterativity and emphasis on verbs, although both of these appear to be rare. Reduplication of nouns can be used to indicate plurality, and reduplication of adjectives can intensify their meaning.

Subordination by reduplication, although frequent in Wetan, is quite uncommon in other languages. However, use of reduplication to express subordination is congruent with other functions of reduplication that are common cross-linguistically. In general, reduplication of verbs seems to decrease their "verbiness"—it commonly creates nominal forms, iteratives, and progressives, and in general places more emphasis on the process or duration of an action rather than on the end or result. Although relative clauses by definition contain verbs, they perform a less-than-prototypical function for verbs, namely nominal modification. It is therefore not surprising that a construction that is commonly used for nominalizing verbs should be used in Wetan for relativizing them. Reduplication in Austronesian languages is an integral rather than a marginal grammatical process, so this kind of syntactic exploitation of reduplication will probably prove to be more widespread throughout the family. The closeness of nominalizations and relative clauses, as well as the relevance of reduplication to these categories, can be seen in other members of the Austronesian family. In Asilulu, for example, instrumental nominalizations and subordinated verbs also share morphology (Collins 1987). Instrumentals are marked with both a reduplicated verb and a suffixed *-t*. However, in Asilulu, the *-t* alone is the marker of subordination. Wetan, lacking a nominalizing suffix, marks the similarity and possible diachronic relation by extending reduplication to this context instead.

Prefixation with *mak-*

Reduplication can be used for subordination only when the head noun, either present or understood, is not the actor. Most commonly in these texts, the head noun is a location, or (in descending order of frequency) direct object, indirect object, or possessor. When the head noun is an actor, the subordinated verb must instead be prefixed with *mak-*, as in the following example:

- (16) Taamma ta-naloon-nteramma [Nojat-era ta-mak-warurni-ra]
 then not-long-before [Nusiata-PL not-MAK-fight-3pl]
 r-mai-pi ra-itiana rierke-dene ankee-ni-ro-ro r-iwre
 3pl-come-PRT 3pl-ask old man-DEM child-POSS-two 3pl-say

'Not long after that [the Nusiata people who had not taken part in the fighting] came and asked the old man's two sons ...' (14-60)

Wetan has both prefixes and suffixes to indicate subject on the verb, which de Josselin de Jong writes are used "without any regularity" (p. 188). However, closer examination reveals a consistent pattern. When *mak-* is prefixed to a verb, only the suffixed forms can be used:

- (17) Ine' eri maka-tekla-ka-malla-na-anke-u dinc
 EXCL who MAK-evil-CAUS-evil-3sg-son-POSS DEM

'Alas, who is [(the one) who murdered my son]?' (14-28)

- (18) Eri eda maka-k-didna or-dene
 who is MAK-VOL-beat bamboo-DEM

'Who is [(that) who beat the bamboophone]?' (20-7)

Sometimes, however, there is simply no marking of the person on the *mak-* prefixed verb:

- (19) Ir-era maka-kota adine le ai
 they-be MAK-tell this PREP 1sg

'They are [(the ones) who told this] to me.' (51-11)

- (20) Arrine era mak-oiktanniana Ikleri ma Paileri, Upuli ma Lewnuli
 these be MAK-worship Ikleri CONJ Paileri, Upuli CONJ Lewnuli

'These were the people who worshipped Ikleri and Paileri, Upuli and Lewnuli.' (1-36)

Since *mak-* ends in a consonant, a vowel (usually *a*) may be inserted between the prefix and verbs beginning in consonants, as in (17) through (19), as well as *mak-a-jorpi* 'to give birth' (12-2) and *mak-a-kuri* 'to miscarry' (12-3). There are, however, exceptions to this, for instance *mak-kaanana* 'to take' (12-63) and *mak-poli mak-wakdene* 'to invite to request' (= 'to pray'). In the case of compound verbs, both elements of the compound are prefixed, although apparently the entire unit is prosodically a single word, for example, both elements of *eri-lai* 'tend animals' take *mak-* in *mak-erri-mak-lai* 'those who keep animals'. Both elements in *poli-waka* 'pray' (from *poli* 'invite' and *waka* 'request') also take *mak-*, yielding *mak-poli-mak-waka* 'the one who prayed'. Some compound verbs which appear to be highly lexicalized apparently show phonological reduction of the second *mak-*. For example, the *k* in *mak-oi-k-tanniana* 'those who worshipped' (from *oi* 'worship' and *tani* 'offer ceremonially') appears to be a reduced form of *mak-*.

Mak- relative clauses, like reduplicated ones, need not have a head noun. If there is no head noun, a demonstrative follows:

- (21) Pidpi n-laa pe Nojata [mak-matti-ari rene] pe r-mori oka
then 3sg-go PRT Nusiata [MAK-die-3pl DEM] PRT 3pl-live again

'Then when he arrived at Nusiata [those who had died] were alive again.' (14-69)

Once again the question arises—besides the fact that they have been translated as relative clauses, what reason do we have to analyze them as relative clauses? More specifically, how do we know these are relative clauses rather than nominalizations functioning as simple attributives? Except for some highly lexicalized forms, *mak-* prefixed verbs tend to express incidental rather than inherent performance of the action. In some cases, there is even a contrast between the *mak-* form, expressing an incidental performance of the action, and a lexicalized near-synonym which is used in contexts where the actor-action relation is less ad hoc. For example, *winiotera* 'inhabitants of the village' (lit. 'village contents') contrasts with *makdena* 'the ones who lived in the village', and *mati* 'the dead' contrasts with *makmatrine* 'the one who died', suggesting that the *mak-* forms are most appropriately analyzed as relative clauses.

As in the case of relative clauses with reduplicated verbs, if there is a head noun, no demonstrative is necessary:

- (22) M-ljaa-pe m-kjaa mac unni woteli pode m-mjai
2pl-go-PRT 2pl-take gold ear drops 2 so that 2pl-come

pi m-jala id' le m-jari [lete niar-ni mak-dena tjokre]
PRT 2pl-give one PREP 2pl-open [village gate-POSS MAK-stay outside]

ma m-jal' id' le m-jar' wiali lete niarni korni
CONJ 2pl-give one PREP 2pl-open also village door remaining

'Go and take three sets of gold ornaments, then come and give one to open the outside gate of the village and also give one to open the other village gates.'

Mak- has no other functions in Wetan.

Reduplication and *mak-* are only used to form restrictive relative clauses, those that serve to specify or restrict the identity of the head noun. However, de Josselin de Jong also translated into English a variety of other nonrestrictive construction types as relative clauses, including causal and temporal connectors and simple attributives, such as *nanni* 'name'. Analysis shows there is little justification for calling these relative clauses. In fact, the category of nonrestrictive relative clauses is one that has no relevance to an analysis of Wetan. However, they are included in this discussion in order to support the argument that Wetan has no nonrestrictive relative clauses, as well as to show how the pitfalls of using the English translations of the *Fieldnotes* can be easily overcome.

Particles and conjunctions

- (23) Maran peiniaka ai pi aoklea nokerna-raikjernape nudepe
person stranger 1sg PRT 1sg-lack land PRT therefore-now
mi-alle-ka [nokerna-raikjerna dianna pode ai-laa-oli-wona-loe]
you-give-VOL [land some so that 1sg-go-stay-stay-there]

'As a stranger I have no land, so now give me [some land where I shall live].' (14-74)

- (24) Pidpi r-laa-pe r-kapri-tjari airi dene
then 3pl-go-PRT 3pl-erect-PERF human figure DEM
ma r-ka-nana [in-dene pidpi reijere ra-kjoratkjaje]
CONJ 3pl-take-EMPH [fish-DEM then cut 3pl-salt]

'Then they erected the supernatural being and took [the fish which they cut up and salted].' (36-33)

- (25) Uplawoti dine n-dena [woore idde nanni Woormae]
 Uplawoti DEM 3sg-stay [mountain one name-POSS mountain-gold]

'This Uplawoti was living on [a mountain whose name was Golden Mountain].' (27-1)

- (26) Taamma in-ni nora am-ni r-laa woorma
 thereupon mother-POSS together father-POSS 3pl-go mountain
 ra-kotar-lie [anke-ni rene ror-pe r-kerta]
 3pl-say-PREP [children-POSS DEM two-PRT 3pl-tap]

'Once it happened that their mother and father were going into the mountains and said so to [their children, who went to tap palm-trees].' (14-19)

Before moving on to a more general discussion, it will be helpful to summarize the three main points of the preceding analysis of relative clauses in Wetan: (1) *Mak-* prefixation on the subordinated verb marks restrictive relative clauses only when the head noun (either explicit or understood) is an actor. (2) Reduplication of the subordinated verb is used to mark relative clauses when the head noun (either explicit or understood) is a nonactor. (3) The term "nonrestrictive relative clause" means little in an analysis of Wetan, because Wetan does not use relative clause constructions to express the clausal relations that in English are marked with nonrestrictive relative clauses. Instead, Wetan uses a variety of particles and words that mark temporal and causal relations. Thus, while de Josselin de Jong's translations provide an initial point of entry into an analysis of clausal modification in Wetan, they implicitly delineate a category which is at once too broad and too narrow for Wetan.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The case of relative clauses reveals not only interesting facts about the structure of Wetan, but also a more important lesson about the organization of reference grammars. *Wetan Fieldnotes* is useful to linguists not only as a valuable source of data on a little-known and relatively inaccessible language, but also as a model of careful collection and compilation of data that endure. De Josselin de Jong achieves two important compromises—first, between a format organized by form and a format organized by function; and second, between an approach that is theoretically informed and an approach that lets the data speak for themselves. His compromises provide access to the language through both functional and structural routes, explicitly in the case of indexing and section

headings, and implicitly in the case of text translations and notes. The translations are necessarily imperfect and sometimes inaccurate and misleading, but contain sufficient insight nonetheless to provide an invaluable foundation for linguistic analysis. De Josselin de Jong's careful linguistic notes provide many signposts towards important research areas that can be pursued in the texts. And, most important, it provides the data. While unfinished, *Wetan Fieldnotes* can take its place with other enduring works on Eastern Indonesia by de Josselin de Jong. Indeed, *Wetan Fieldnotes* is only unfinished in the way that all enduring scholarship is unfinished. Its value will lie in the solid foundation it provides for future studies of the languages of the Babar Archipelago. The book is useful now for issues that are of current significance, but even more important, it will quite clearly be of use for future, unanticipated inquiries.

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